

NEW SHAKESPEAREANA.

VOL. V.

OCTOBER, 1906.

No. 4.

SHAKESPEARE'S FALSTAFF TRILOGY.

CONCLUSION—FALSTAFF'S ABSENCE FROM HENRY THE FIFTH AND APPEARANCE IN THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

The readers of SHAKESPEAREANA may remember that in some previous papers (IV, 1, 37, III). I have tried to discuss the Falstaff of 1 and 2 Henry IV historically in connection with the original Oldcastle and the Fastolfe of Henry VI. In the present paper I have sought to consider the relations of the Falstaff of the Merry Wives, in time and logical sequence to the Sir John of the Historical Plays, but have not undertaken the more difficult task of considering the Merry Wives as a whole, or independently of Falstaff and his attendants' parts in the Comedy.

When Shakespeare promised in the Epilogue to 2 Henry IV, to give his audience at the Globe a continuation of the story "with Sir John in it, when, for anything I know, Falstaff should die of a sweat," he doubtless contemplated a third Drama founded on the old play "The Famous Victories," which had already furnished the skeleton for the two parts of Henry IV.

The old play contains a scene relating Henry the Fifth's submission to the Archbishop of Canterbury of the question of his right to the French Crown, which is succeeded by the entry of the Archbishop of Bourges as Ambassador from France, who brings with him the famous Tennis balls. Shortly after, follow scenes where Derrick the Carrier, his friend John Cobler and the Thief, are all impressed for the French Wars, furnishing

*Continued from page III of Volume IV.

perhaps the suggestion of the enlistment of Bardolph, Pistol and Nym, (although they seem to have volunteered.) The siege of Harfleur is only alluded to in the old play, but the battle of Agincourt is given in some detail. After the victory, we have a curious scene describing the attack upon the English camp, in which Derrick, Cobler and Robin, the boy, find themselves in some danger. Derrick is captured by a French soldier but, by a trick, gets possession of his enemy's sword and makes him prisoner in turn. This scene may have suggested Pistol and the boy's celebrated scene with Mons. le Fer the captured French officer. Jockey, however, the prototype of Oldcastle and Falstaff, is not introduced in the French scenes. The old play concludes with a slight sketch of Henry V's courtship of the Princess Catherine, which would seem to be the germ from which the second scene of Act V of Henry V, was developed.

The old play is rough in versification and inartistic in construction, and gives no evidence of Shakespeare's touch. But it was evidently very popular, and held the stage for a number of years, so that Shakespeare recognized that his audience, having seen and heard with delight his version of the earlier part of the Famous Victories, would be prepared to welcome eagerly a play containing his amplification of the rest of the story, particularly with the promise of Falstaff's reappearance.

What were Shakespeare's reasons for not fulfilling this promise, and his giving to us in Henry V nothing of Falstaff but the pathetic account of his death, while he revived Sir John in the Merry Wives full of spirit and gaiety, can only be conjectured. If, however, the story current for centuries, that the Merry Wives was written at the express command of Queen Elizabeth be true, it may perhaps account for the change of purpose. This familiar story was first printed by John Dennis in his preface to an attempted modernization of the Merry Wives which he produced in 1702 under the name of "The Comical Gallant." Dennis says, speaking of the Merry Wives, "I know very well it had pleased one of the greatest Queens that ever was in the World. This Comedy was written at her command and by her direction, and she was so eager to see it acted that she commanded it to be finished in fourteen days, and was afterwards as tradition tells us very well pleased at the representation." Dennis, it will be noted, speaks of the general fact as undoubted, and tradition tells us he had the story from Dryden, who was told it by Davenant, a very possible lineage. The incidental nature of Dennis's allusion to the old tale, and the form of his narrative shows his good faith, and that he mentioned the story as a matter he expected his readers to be familiar with. This earliest form of the story

has no mention of any particular reason for the Queen's special command. Seven years later, however, in Rowe's life of Shakespeare, 1709, we find an enlargement of the anecdote. Rowe says "She was so well pleased with the admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of Henry IV, that she commanded him to continue it for one play more, and to show him in love. This is said to be the occasion of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*." In the next year Gilden, in his "Remarks on the Plays of Shakespeare," (1710) remarks, "The Fairies in the fifth Act make a handsome compliment to the Queen in her Palace of Windsor who had obliged him to write a play of Sir John Falstaff in love, and which I am very well assured he performed in a fortnight." Dr. Halliwell Phillips is disposed to accept the story as told by Dennis as true, but to regard the additions as glosses. However this may be, the legend, in its first form as told by Dennis, amply accounts for Shakespeare's change of purpose as to Falstaff. The two plays of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Henry V* must have been composed very nearly at the same time, although I think the *Merry Wives* was the earlier. Perhaps the Queen's command caused the composition of *Henry V* to be interrupted if it had been commenced, and the author's whole powers to be devoted to the difficult task of completing *The Merry Wives* in a fortnight. We know, by the strongest internal evidence, that *Henry V* was completed and produced during the spring or summer of 1599 while Essex was engaged in his fatal campaign in Ireland, but before its disastrous results were known or anticipated by Shakespeare or his audience. The Chorus between the fourth and fifth acts is written in the full glow of the hope of Essex's expected triumphant return, which Shakespeare evidently shared with his audience. It was probably only a few men of superior knowledge and sagacity, like Bacon, who at that time were aware of Essex's unfortunate errors, and foreboded the disastrous ending of the expedition. Both *Henry V* and *Merry Wives* follow the second part of *Henry IV* closely, and are more nearly affiliated to it than to the *First Henry IV*. The characters of those irregular humorists, Pistol and Nym, had been first introduced in *Second Henry IV*, probably marking Shakespeare's close relations at the time to Ben Jonson, who was then working over *Every Man in his Humour*, and *Every Man out of his Humour*. These additions to Falstaff's staff having been added to the old favorite, Bardolph, to make up an immortal trio, were further carried forward and developed in both the *Merry Wives*, and in *Henry V*. Such was also the case with Robin, the quick witted page, who, although a personage in the old play of *The Famous Victories*, is absent in the first part of *Henry IV*, and only slightly sketched

in the second part of that play, while he reaches full development in *The Merry Wives* and in *Henry V.* No entry is found of *The Merry Wives* in the Stationers Register, until January 18th, 1601, but it is evident from the matters mentioned in the entry that it was far from a new play then. The entry reads as follows:

John Busby entered for his copie under the hand of Master Seton A. Booke called An Excellent and pleasant conceited Comedie of Sir John Ffaulstoff and the Merry Wives of Windsor. v j d

Arthur Johnson Entered for his cople by assignment from John Busbye A booke called an excellent and pleasant conceyted comedie of Sir John Ffaulstafe and the Merye Wyves of Windsor. v j d.

Mr. Arber notes on these entries, that it is "quite clear" that the *Merry Wives* was printed by Busby before this date, but not entered in the Register until he came to assign it to Johnson. This does not, however, seem clear to the other critics. If Busby did print an edition of the play no copy has come down to us. The earliest edition known to us is Johnson's. The title page reads:

"A most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedie of Syr John Falstaffe and the Merrie Wives of Windsor entermixed with sundrie variable and pleasing humors of Sir Hugh the Welsh Knight Justice Shallow and his wise Cousin Mr. Slender With the swaggering vain of Ancient Pistoll and Corporell Nym By William Shakespeare As it hath been divers times acted by the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlain's servants. Both before her Majestie and elsewhere London Printed by T. C. for Arthur Johnson and to be sold at his shop in Powles Church yard, at the Signe of the Flower de Leuse and the Crowne 1602."

The entry and the title-page at least show that in 1601 *The Merry Wives* was a well known and popular play which had been on the stage for some years, and had been assigned by a previously recognized owner, Busby, to Johnson, who then printed it. So whether or not Busby had printed an earlier edition, (now lost to us,) is not very material. And the title-page by the pains it takes to refer to each of the several characters who had attained popularity in the second part of *Henry IV*—certainly demonstrates that *The Merry Wives* followed instead of preceding—that play! whatever else maybe uncertain—there can be no escape from that conclusion of fact! It was shown in a previous article that the second part of *Henry IV* was written and acted several years before it was published in Quarto in 1598.

This was made clear by the fact that the name of "Oldcastle" occurs early in the play although the denial that he is the person intended is found in the epilogue. The fact that this alteration to "Falstaff" had been made in the first part everywhere but in this one place before it was published in 1597, seems to afford good reason for believing that the second part of Henry IV was produced as early as 1596. Therefore it may very well be that The Merry Wives may have been produced not a great deal later, and because of the Queen's wish—have anticipated Henry V, by two years. In fact, Queen Elizabeth's interest in Falstaff (I am assuming the legend to be true) would naturally be keenest, immediately after seeing Henry IV on the stage, and there was no time when she was more likely to have witnessed this performance, than when the *amende honorable* having been arranged with the Cobhams, the second part of Henry IV was acted with the Epilogue, and the formal declaration made that the fat knight was Falstaff and Oldcastle "not the man." Thus, I think external indications are in favor of the placing of The Merry Wives between the two parts of Henry IV in time of composition and production, and the internal evidence seems to me nearly all on the same side. Charles Knight's theory of this play being the first of the Falstaff series antedating both parts of Henry IV—is certainly not maintainable. After the conception of Pistol and Nym, and the attaching of them to the person of Falstaff, Shakespeare could never have let them drop for a whole play, and insert the comparatively colorless and feeble Peto and Gadshill in their places. The suggestion that Falstaff was the original hero of The Merry Wives, and quite distinct from Oldcastle the hero of Henry IV, and that the two were fused when Shakespeare was obliged to wipe out Oldcastle from his drama, seems to me merely fantastic; it would compel us to believe that Shakespeare designedly sketched two dramas, of each of which the protagonist should be a man of unwieldy proportions, but of the most nimble wit, and possessing essentially similar moral traits, and yet that they were quite distinct in conception and origin. This certainly is impossible. It is true that, in some respects The Merry Wives strikes us as an early play, with its very large *dramatis personae*, its flow of high spirits, and what seem references to the scenes and characters of Shakespeare's early life. But these traits are in common with all the Comedies and many of Shakespeare's other plays, antedating the fall of Essex and imprisonment of Southampton, in 1600. Henry V, which—as we have seen—certainly was produced during Essex's absence in Ireland, (that is, during 1599,) was, I think, the last of Shakespeare's plays in which his natural gaiety of heart took full play, and even

Henry V is not without some hint of fore-boding. In *The Merry Wives*, however, all is seeming brightness and everything which could leave a sense of pain is sought to be banished. In the conclusion, even the gloomy and jealous Master Ford is induced to leave Sir John in the peaceful possession of the twenty-odd pounds he had advanced him! Nor is it probable that, at any time after Essex's fall, Elizabeth would have ordered a play to be written by Shakespeare, or listened to the performance of a drama by one of Southampton's followers.

Nothing seems to me more probable than that Shakespeare, having been required to write a distinct play around the character of Falstaff, as he did in *The Merry Wives*, should gladly avail himself of the excuse to escape the difficult and trying task of bringing poor old Sir John to France to sweat at the head of a charge of foot over the French plains. I have said the task was encompassed with difficulties. How should the ten miles distance from the King's person which Henry V had ordered in the last scene of 2 Henry IV be preserved if Falstaff was in the King's Army? If this rule was cancelled, or suspended, how was Falstaff to be treated by his Sovereign? If admitted to the King's presence at all, how could Henry's resolve to keep him from intimacy be sustained; Falstaff's inimitable wit and audacity would necessarily overcome all obstacles; and renew, to some extent, the old relations. And how could he be kept at a distance in the little army of six thousand men who fought at Agincourt? Then what was to be done as to Falstaff's valour? Henry was convinced Sir John was a coward, although he had winked with pleasure at Falstaff's strutting with stolen laurels. But he could not do this as a King charged with the lives of his soldiers. Then too, the French Campaign was coming perilously near the period of 1 Henry VI, and the scenes in that play when Fastolfe appeared in such an unattractive light. Shakespeare had barely succeeded after a sharp struggle in freeing his fat hero from the unfortunate association with Oldcastle; was he to incur the new danger of a distinct merger of Falstaff with Sir John Fastolfe? We have seen the indignation which the suggested identification aroused. Then how could the author keep up Falstaff's military reputation through Henry V's time, so as to make natural Fastolfe (with whom the public would insist in identifying Falstaff) appearing as a general of standing in the next reign? What a Godsend therefore may have been Queen Elizabeth's commission; which, in commanding him to continue Falstaff's career in the peaceful sports of Windsor, impliedly absolved Shakespeare from his promise to take Falstaff to France. Perhaps Shakespeare hastened to dispose of Falstaff by death in the early

part of Henry V, so as to render impossible any further call upon him for a continuation of his adventures and prevent the possibility of an identification with the Fastolfe of 1 Henry VI.

When we take up the internal evidences from the two plays, it seems to me they abundantly support Dr. Johnson's conclusion that both the period of composition and the supposed time of action of the *Merry Wives* lie between those of Second Henry IV and those of Henry V. The whole Falstaff coterie, as developed in 2 Henry IV, is bodily transported to Windsor, with the single exception of the unfortunate Mistress Tearsheet, who had come to grief in London, and whose enforced absence is amply explained by what is told us in the first Act of Henry V. Windsor is more than ten miles from Westminster, and therefore a permissible residence for Falstaff and his friends under the King's order. We find Falstaff living there at an expense of £10 a week, as Sir John explains to mine Host of the Garter, perhaps not too much for the maintenance of the knight himself, his boy and three swash-buckling servants and probably several horses, particularly in view of the quantity of sack consumed by the party, but as is evident, considerably beyond the modest maintenance promised to be provided by the King in Second Henry IV. We have an intimation that there is a provision for Falstaff though it is evident he has been living beyond it. This leads to the necessary retrenchment of part of his retinue; which, by prompting Pistol's treachery, helps the development of the plot. Dame Quickly, too, is at Windsor, shifted from the hostess of the Boar's Head to housekeeper for Dr. Caius who is somewhat jealous of her. Here we have a curious prophetic anticipation of Henry V. In Second Henry IV, Pistol had met Mistress Quickly, but the mutual impression had not been agreeable. The dame in particular had been offended with Pistol's sesquipedalian eloquence. This adverse opinion of Pistol may however, have been partly due to Mrs. Tearsheet's evidently previous unfavorable experience of Pistol's character. In *The Merry Wives*, however, Act II sc. viii Pistol's eagle eye observes the potentiality of profit which Mrs. Quickly's capacities indicate, and determines to woo and win her at all hazards.

This pink is one of Cupid's carriers
Clap on more sails; pursue; up with your fights
Give Fire; She is my prize, or oceanwhelms them all!

These picturesque lines which remind us of some of Biron's in *Love's*

Labor Lost, give the promise of the courtship afterwards crowned with complete success in Henry V. It would seem to me therefore that this passage, even if standing alone, would suffice to put the period of the action of *The Merry Wives* between Second Henry IV and Henry V. We have Justice Shallow too, brought not unnaturally from Gloucestershire as far as Windsor, probably in the hope for redress for Falstaff's wrong which he threatens to bring before the Council, or the Star Chamber, an Institution beginning to be much talked about, in these last years of Queen Elizabeth. He has this time as a companion, however, his cousin Slender. We had left Falstaff and Justice Shallow at variance in the close of Second Henry IV about the thousand pounds imprudently advanced by Shallow. I think we may infer that the King's promised bounty had enabled Falstaff to make some kind of a settlement with Shallow, since the quarrel developed in the first Scene is because of trespass and damage to Shallow's Park, etc., which gives Shakespeare an opportunity for an attack on his old enemy Sir Thomas Lucy, while Slender has greater cause of complaint against Bardolph and Pistol. Falstaff is evidently popular with the folks of Windsor and welcomed as a sojourner among them. As the play opens, he is being entertained by Page, one of the chief citizens of the town, who is particularly entranced by his wit and conversation, as we are told both by Mistress Page and by Ford. All the pleasant company of townsmen, are desirous of reconciling Falstaff and Shallow, that they may have the honour of the society of the two distinguished personages, the knight and the justice, and that the simple gaiety of the life of the little city, may not be interrupted. All seems going happily for Falstaff when the two untoward circumstances of the discovery by the Ladies of the identity of the Love letters, and the betrayal by the treacherous Pistol of his late Master's plans and hopes to the jealous Ford, mar Falstaff's prospects of profit and enjoyment, and bring about the catastrophe which closes the Comedy.

There are two direct allusions in the *Merry Wives* to the old sporting days of Henry IV, the first by Page when he objects to Fenton (III. 7) because "the Gentleman is of no having, he kept company with the wild Prince and Points." This deals with Prince Hal's revels as a matter of the past and is quite consistent with the play coming between 2 Henry IV and Henry V. The other allusion is more intricate. The Quarto in Act V sc. iv makes Sir John say in the middle of the fairy scene "What hunting at this time at night, I'll lay my life the mad Prince of Wales is stealing his father's deer." This would at first seem to imply that it must belong to an earlier period and be contemporaneous with 2 Henry IV. It is to be

remembered, however, that Falstaff is, in all the scene, under a fairy or ghostly impression, personating as he does a celebrated hunting apparition and amid surroundings calculated to develop fanciful imaginings. Why might not the fat knight let his fancy make his memories present, and believe for the nonce the noises he hears to be produced by the mad prince hunting the King his father's deer, as they had oft in the past chased them together, although he knew full well Henry the Fourth to be dead and Prince Hal on the throne? The fancy was not more far fetched than of himself playing the part of Herne the Hunter. This very speech begins: "Herne the Hunter quoth you; am I a ghost, Sblood the fairies have made a ghost of me." So that, attributing the sounds of the chase to a dead past is not an unnatural stretch of the fancy. But most important is it to note, that these lines are omitted in the Folio, being found in the Quartos only, so that whether the passage is an actor's gloss, inserted to tickle the ears of the groundlings, or whether it was a lapse on Shakespeare's part in the haste of the two weeks given to the composition of the Comedy, subsequent review may have induced him to strike out the lines as inconsistent with the time of the intended action of the Drama. Can we therefore be going wrong if in our consideration of the question, we follow Shakespeare's example, and omit, or, at least, disregard, them?

Space is lacking for a discussion of the many interesting questions suggested by Merry Wives, and I cannot in the space allotted to me even discuss the character of Falstaff as disclosed by the Comedy, and how far it varies from the Knight's description in Henry IV. The rest of my space must be given to a brief discussion of some differences between the quarto and folio readings in the last scene of the Merry Wives and of the scenes in the early part of Henry V. when Falstaff is still in the background. In the Quarto, Falstaff is disturbed and anxious lest the story of his having been fooled and mishandled by the supposed fairies should reach London, and he who had always been the maker of jests and mirth should become a laughing stock among the wits of London. "By the Lord I was once or twice in the mind. They were not, and yet the grossness of the fopperie persuaded me they were—well and the fine wits of the Court bear this," etc., etc. In the Folio we find this idea of concern as to what shall be said of him in London has quite vanished, and instead is introduced the idea of Falstaff's evil conscience being the cause of his credulity. "The guiltiness of my mind, the sudden surprise of my powers drove the grossness of the foppery in a received belief—in despite of the teeth of all rhyme and reason, that they were fairies &c." That Sir John, remarkable as he was for

his marvellous audacity as well as readiness of mind and nimbleness of wit, should be so grossly and helplessly tricked and befooled, is indeed surprising, and the suggestion that it was due to his guilty mind is contrary to all our preconceived ideas of Falstaff from the earlier plays, which had never given us a suggestion of his possessing such an article as a conscience. There had been one expression, however, giving us such a hint previously in this play, where Sir John says "I never prospered since I forswore myself at Primero. Well if my wind were but long enough to say my prayers, I would repent." May we not conjecture that the fatigue, exposure and mortification of his Windsor adventures may have conduced to the illness, which carried Falstaff off so early in Henry V, although that death is attributed by his followers to a heart, broken by the young King's unkindness? The final adventure at Herne's Oak certainly produced a powerful effect on Falstaff from which he could not rally with his accustomed alacrity. He was amazed and mortified at himself that he should for an instant have believed in the reality of the fairies. May it be that Shakespeare, in his final and amended version of the text, intended to convey a suggestion that the treatment which our old friend met with in this play at the hands of the Merry Wives had a tendency to hasten the inevitable end. When the King having gone to Southampton with his Court, Falstaff with his old associates could return to London. There, in the first act of Henry V. we find Mrs. Quickly back at her old tavern in East-Cheap. Pistol's ardently pressed suit has won her hand, outstripping the slower pursuit of Corporal Nym, and we have one humorous yet most touching scene, where the Knight's death is described, before the remaining members of the immortal aggregation take ship for France. That Pistol, at Windsor had only very recently carried off his prize, is shown by the fact that Bardolph asks Nym at the opening of the scene "What, are ancient Pistol and you friends yet?" Falstaff had manifestly forgiven Pistol, for he is living in Dame Quickly's house. He has evidently been ailing, but had not perhaps taken to his bed, until as we are told in this scene (I. iv) by the boy who comes for Pistol and the Hostess "he is very sick and would to bed." Later we are told by Mrs. Quickly that he is so shaken of a "burning Quotidian tertain that it is most lamentable to behold." This description is clearly of an attack of intermittent fever, which might be in a measure due to his cruel experiences in the river and forest at Windsor, but Mrs. Quickly clearly indicates the fatal element in the Knight's illness "The King has killed his heart" (which indeed seem not as belonging to the Hostess, but as personally escaping from the writer.) They sum up Nym and Pistol's characteristic expressions:

Nym. "The King hath run bad humours on the Knight that's the humour of it."

Pistol. "Nym, thou hast spoken the right, his heart is fractured and corroborate."

In this scene we have almost a glimpse of our old friend. He is very near, perhaps in the adjoining room but we do not see him, only hear the imperative message he sends for Mrs. Quickly and her return with the news of his suffering condition. The scene here ends, we lose sight of Falstaff, but cherish yet the possibility of his re-appearance, until after the scene at Southampton, and the discovery of the plot against the King, we return to the house in Eastcheap and hear Mrs. Quickly's tender description of poor Sir John's passing. Some time—possibly several weeks—has evidently elapsed between these scenes during which Falstaff's illness had progressed to its fatal termination apparently the night before this scene opens, while, in the Interval, the King had gone to Southampton and was on the point of departure from thence, so that our friends Pistol, Bardolph and Nym set out in haste in order to reach that port in time. Probably they delayed starting until the Knight had breathed his last. Although we do not see Falstaff again, his last illness and death are brought vividly before us, and it is worth noting that his demise is treated most tenderly in the loving description of Mrs. Quickly, and very differently from the prior suggestion of his dying in a sweat in the Henry IV Epilogue! It is evident that Shakespeare's affection and sympathy for the Fat Knight had developed since then, and that, while he did not venture to bring the death scene before us, he yet contrives to leave us with a sympathetic impression of the Knight's last moments, with just a suggestion of a return to the Wickliffite piety of his early days, for Quickly tells us of his calling upon God; and, if Theobald's beautiful conjecture be right, "babbling of green fields." It is most comforting too, to feel that—with all his faults—Sir John was not deserted in his last moments as many better men have been. Two loving, if erring, hearts clung to him to the end, Mrs. Quickly and our old friend Bardolph, so oft the subject of his jests, but who wished himself with his old master wheresoever he is, either in heaven or hell.

R. L. ASHHURST.

TWO RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND
MANUSCRIPT.

FIRST PAPER.

Mr. Frank J. Burgoyne¹ and Mr. T. LeMarchant Douse² reach widely different conclusions regarding the origin and significance of "The Northumberland Manuscript" (so called.)

These differences it is the purpose of this paper to discuss, especially as to its much be-scribbled cover—which even Dr. Appleton Morgan (who will have naught of Bacon) admits is "the Rosetta stone" of the Bacon Controversy; bringing together, as it does, under what I suppose Dr. Morgan thinks are suspicious circumstances, the names of Bacon and of Shakespeare in casual, obviously unstudied and accidental, juxtaposition. The History and specifications of this Manuscript are so familiar to readers of *NEW SHAKESPEAREANA*—have been so constantly described in the forty years since its discovery by Mr. Bruce, that it would be supererogation to again describe it. In a previous contribution to these pages (*ante* Vol. II, p. 122) I stated fully my reading of those portions of the scribbled cover which seemed to me—as they seemed to Judge Holmes (who, I think first discussed them)—of the widest importance in connection with what is certainly the most absorbing of literary questions—the Question of the Authorship of Shakespeare—and I hope that the fac simile of the be-scribbled cover itself, reduced to modern script, presented here will place this remarkable relic of Shakespeare-Bacon times so adequately before the reader as to render any further description of it unnecessary.

Mr. Douse and Mr. Burgoyne agree that the "scribbler" himself was John Davies of Hereford, and for these reasons as given by the former: The scribbler was evidently a scholar, a lover of literature and especially of the drama, and therefore naturally of poets and dramatists; possibly a writer himself. He must have been more or less intimately acquainted with at least the names of the persons mentioned in the scribble. He was a man of solid and serious character, there is nothing vulgar or trivial in the writing,

(1) Collotype Facsimile and Type Transcript of an Elizabethan Manuscript, Preserved at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland; Transcribed and edited with Notes and Introduction by Frank J. Burgoyne, Librarian of the Lambeth Public Libraries. (*NEW SHAKESPEAREANA*, *ante* Vol. IV, p. 29).

(2) Examination of an Old Manuscript, Preserved in the Library of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick and sometimes called The Northumberland Manuscript, By T. LeMarchant Douse, B. A.

Nevill

Mr ffrancis Bacon
of Tribute or giving what is dew



Nevill

By Christ religio fons refuting
your religion your selves
reproving as in Christ

most refuting of any
most refuting of any

ne vile velis all
ne vile velis Anthony Comfort
ne vile velis Conf

refreshing ye hart
laden with grief and
oppression of heart

Philipp
Mullis annis iam transactis
Nulla fides est in pacis

Mell in ore Verba lacies
Bell in corde ffrancis in factis

your lovinge
ffrancis

honorable abilitate
humane offere speak

The praise of the worthiest vertue
The praise of the worthiest affection
The praise of the worthiest power
The praise of the worthiest person
and consorte

By Mr ffrancis Thomas
By Mr ffrancis Bacon of Gr

Greis Inn on the
Philipp against monsieur
revealed

Earle of Arundells letter to the Queen
from your service

Speeches for my Lord of Essex at the fight
Speech for my Lord of Sussex tilt
more than externally

Lecesters Common Wealth Incerlo autore
By Mr Adam

Orations at Graues Inne revells
Dyr Ducenes Mate many

Earle of Arundells By Mr ffrancis Bacon Bacon
letter to the Ducenes wife Earle of A By Mr

Essays by the same author printed
round By Mr

By Mr ffrancis William Shakespeare
Richard the second Shakespeare

Richard the third
Amund and Cornelia Thomas Thom
He of Dogs for most as your

every crony by Thomas Nashe your inferior plauers
peepes and see of William Shakespeare Thomas

Shak Shak Shakespeare
Shak Shak Shakespeare

William Shakespeare
William Shakespeare

William Shakespeare Wm Wm
Will Shakope

William Shakespeare
Shakespeare Shakespeare

the subjects that interest him are lofty and noble. Now John Davies of Hereford, is the only contemporary that can be thought of who exactly corresponds to this description. Moreover the hand-writing is pronounced by experts to be his. In fact Mr. Douse says the evidence from hand-writing is limited in extent but decisive. No one who has studied the scribble, and then turns to the Congratulatory Epistle to the Duke of Northumberland prefixed to a copy of "Humour's Heaven on Earth," preserved in the Grenville Library can—he is sure—fail to recognize this same hand at a glance.

In regard to the question of where the manuscript was burned, of course Mr. Bruce's theory that it happened in the Northumberland House fire is plausible, but it has been suggested that if it were originally the property of Bacon the damage might have been caused by the fire which destroyed, in 1678, the sometime lodging of Bacon at Gray's Inn. The lodging destroyed was his favorite "cell," and it is not too much to suppose that much of his library and many of his papers were lost. But of course these are all speculations and no more. The manuscript may have been transcribed by some collector from borrowed copies, perhaps by or for Davies himself. He was at one time employed by the Earl of Northumberland and may possibly have left this in his library. There is an entry of a payment of 40 shillings to him by the Earl in 1607, but that seems too late to have any bearing on this matter.

This John Davies of Hereford was by profession a writing teacher, and, at the time when writers made their own quill pens, it was customary to try them on such scraps of paper as happened to be convenient at the moment. It is not claimed that all the scribble is in Davies' hand-writing, but the greater and more important part is his. Now, any one scribbling, or writing for practice, naturally writes what is suggested by ideas, new or supplied by memory, that interest the mind for the moment. Assuming, then, that the scribbler was John Davies, we shall be led to some notion of what was passing through his mind at the time in regard to the persons mentioned, or, at least, who the people were in whom he was interested. The points then to be considered are, first, the date of the manuscript and the scribble; second, how and under what circumstances the manuscript came to be in Northumberland House; third, how it was that Davies had the opportunity and felt at liberty to use it as a scribbling pad; fourth, the personality and character of John Davies; and fifth, his relations to the various people whose names he has written here, and his opinion of them. Some of these questions have been considered already.

I. In regard to the date of the manuscript itself. Spedding would date

it in 1598, which is probably about correct. The earliest possible limit for any part of the manuscript is fixed by the date of the "Praises" which were written in 1592, but of course they may have been copied at any time after that. But the speeches for the Earls of Essex and Sussex were not written until 1596, so that part of the manuscript cannot be dated earlier. Bacon's Essays and the two Shakespeare Richards were published in 1597. They are listed, but do not appear in the manuscript in its present state. Mr. Douse thinks their publication at this time may account for their non-transcription, as it would be hardly worth while to go to the trouble of writing out a book that could be bought for a trifle. In 1599, William Shakespeare came to be known as "Mr. William Shakespeare" by reason of the transactions—whatever they were—concerning his coat-armor; and, in 1603, Mr. Francis Bacon became Sir Francis Bacon. It is quite safe to put the date of the manuscript from 1596 to 1598, probably not later than 1597. This is important because it is a date prior to Shakespeare being publicly known or recognized as a writer of plays. The name had been known as that of a writer of verse since 1593, when *Venus and Adonis* appeared with the name appended to the Dedication, but its earliest appearance in connection with plays was in 1598, in which year was published *Meres' Palladis Tamia*, containing the well known list of plays attributed to Shakespeare, and also *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard II* and *Richard III*, where the name William Shakespeare first appears on title-pages. Hence it would seem as if the scribbler had possessed some private sources of information.

The next question which arises is, how did the manuscript come into the possession of the Earls of Northumberland? Mr. Bruce raises the question whether it came from the Anstis sale in 1768, only to dismiss it as unproven and improbable. It was then probably transcribed under the direction of Bacon and presented by him to the Earl or copied by the Earl's servants from the original or another copy loaned him for that purpose. Mr. Douse thinks the latter is more probable; why he does not make very clear. On the other hand, it is known that Bacon did sometimes have copies of his writings made for presentation to his friends and acquaintances, and it would certainly seem the more graceful way of paying a compliment, a matter about which Bacon seems to have been very scrupulous. Neither supposition, however, accounts for its lying on the desk before him when Davies tried his new pen, though it would suggest the probability that he was intimate in the library of either Bacon or Northumberland.

John Davies was born in 1565 and died in 1618. He was associated in

some way with Magdalen College, Oxford, and is said to have been a competent scholar. He took up the teaching of penmanship as a profession, and became the most famous master of that art of his time. He taught in the families of many of the nobility and even the royal family. He might easily have had the *entré* to the library of either Bacon or of Northumberland, or both. To both of them he addressed sonnets, and at one time he was employed by the Earl, probably as writing-master to his children; and as a copyist. Davies was also an admirer of the Earl of Essex and addressed to him an epigram beginning, "Refulgent Essex."

To Bacon he addressed a sonnet, published in 1610, which certainly shows the most friendly spirit and the greatest admiration. Mr. Douse argues, most strangely, that the scribbings on the cover show animosity to Bacon, which he attributes to the scribbler's friendship for Essex and his intimates and to Bacon's agency in Essex's conviction. This is a matter having very important bearings upon this discussion and will be considered further on.

Now to consider the scribble on the cover-page. The upper half of the page is naturally divided into two columns owing to the fact that the table of contents occupies only the right hand half. Starting with the upper corner the first word is "Nevill." This both Mr. Douse and Mr. Burgoyne consider an allusion to Sir Henry Neville who—to quote Mr. Douse—"became an influential Member of Parliament, a politician, a courtier and a diplomatist. He was an old friend of Essex and took some part in Essex's plot; consequently he was imprisoned, but was released by James in 1603. It is to him Davies addressed an admiring sonnet, which ends with an allusion to the Neville motto,—'thy noble name denies the vile.'"

Mr. Burgoyne says that Sir Henry Neville was the nephew of Francis Bacon, son of his half-sister Elizabeth. There seems to be some confusion in this matter, as the Dictionary of National Biography assigns, as mother to Sir Henry; Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Gresham; but he was according to Spedding, (II. 207,) a kinsman of Sir Robert Cecil, and of course Cecil was Bacon's cousin. Moreover, some of the Neville family were related to Bacon, as appears by the letter from Francis to his mother, where he speaks of "Mr. Neville, my cousin," (Spedding, I, 264.)

Sir Henry was three years Bacon's junior, and they entered Parliament the same year, 1584. Mr. Burgoyne suggests that this name, occurring as it does at the very beginning of the page, may indicate the original ownership of the manuscript.

Following the name "Neville," which is repeated, is the Neville family

motto referred to in the Davies sonnet, "Ne vile velis." This also is repeated. Interlined between the second "Neville" and the motto, occur these phrases,— "religio fons refusing"—"By [or In] Christ"—"of them"—"your religion yourselves refreshing as in Christ"—"most"—"favour"—"refusing of any"—"most." I have seen no attempt at explanation of those pious ejaculations and can offer none. Perhaps the writer had in mind some friend he felt was straying from the straight and narrow path. Neville? Then, below the first entry of the motto, written on a slight slant and running across into the title-list, is the phrase, "Anthony comfort and consorter." This well expresses Francis Bacon's sentiment for his brother Anthony, and seems as if it might be a reminiscence of something he had been heard to say. Then comes the Neville motto for the second time, followed by the phrases, "refreshing ye hart"—"laden with grief oppression of heart." These evidently belong to the same group as the pious expressions above. Then follows the name "Philipp," which Mr. Douse thinks a reference to Sir Philip Sidney. Scattered along the margin of these words and phrases, but inverted, there is written "your defense"—"Earle"—"Earle"—"Earle"—"diverse places"—"indirectly for profit."

A suggestion has been made to me in reference to these words in the scribble tending to connect them with the play of Richard II thus: We know that the friends of Essex sent for Phillips the manager of the Blackfriars theatre to come to Essex House as they wanted to have played the deposition of Rich. II, and that Phillips told them the play was "Stale" and that the company would "lose money by it," but they gave him 40 shillings as an extra inducement, and he produced the play. Now all these thoughts might have been running through the scribbler's head as they connected. But, again Philip II and "Monsieur" (Alencon, Elizabeth's suitor) were enemies, and it is quite possible that they are referred to. Immediately following the corner group which we have been considering, is the longest consecutive entry occurring on the page, written clearly, firmly, and distinctly:

"Multis annis jam transactis
Nulla fides est in pactis
Mel in ore verba lactis
Fell in Corde ffraus in factis."

If we could only ascertain what transaction this referred to we might find a key to the whole situation. Unfortunately, such bargains as it might refer

to are only too common. Mr. Douse, who is so eager to slur upon Bacon that he upsets his own chronology, by three years, considers it a reference to Bacon's part in the Essex trial, of which there is, of course, not the slightest evidence, even if the probable chronology, and Davies' clearly expressed sentiments for Bacon, did not render it well-nigh impossible. In fact there is nothing to show what it does refer to. But if one were to guess, considering the confusion and juxtaposition of the references to Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare with which the rest of the page—commencing just below this verse—is filled, it would seem more likely that some compact between these two was in the writer's mind. As to the origin of this Latin verse: Mr. Douse found it, with a variation, in the British Museum on the title-page of Ulpian Fulwell's "Ars Adulandi," circum 1587, where the first line reads, "His diebus non peractus." This seems less illuminating than the fact pointed out by Mr. Burgoyne that an illusion to it occurs in a letter, dated April 2, 1597, from Rudolphe Bradley to Anthony Bacon, preserved in the Tenison MSS. in the Lambeth Palace Library. Bradley writes, "Your gracious speeches concerning the getting of a prebendshippe for me . . . be the words of a faithful friende and not of a courtiour, 'mel in ore et verba lactis, sed fel in corde et fraus in factis.'" This latter allusion at least serves to associate it with the Bacons at about the time the manuscript was written.

ISAAC HULL PLATT.

(To be continued.)

DEPARTMENT OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Conducted by EDWARD MERTON DEY, ESQ.

[Contributions to this Department need not be typewritten. Correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Dey, P. O. Box 1833, St. Louis, Missouri, U. S. A.]

"MUCH ADO," II. i. 263.—

"You shall find her the infernal Ate in good apparel," (and also LLL. vii. 694. King John II. i. 63. Julius Caesar III. i. 271.)

Dr. Isaac Hull Platt in this Department for April, 1906, asks whence Shakespeare could have derived his knowledge of Ate. In Peele's Arraignment of Paris (1584) Ate appears in the Prologue as "condemned soul, Ate, from lowest hell," but it is more probable, as will be hereinafter shown, that Shakespeare obtained his knowledge from Greene's Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay where (Clarendon Press edition, lines 1497-1500) she is thus mentioned:

Fond Ate doomer of bad boading fates,
That wrappes proud Fortune in thy snaky locks,
Didst thou inchant my byrth-day with such stars,
As lightned mischeefe from their infancie.

Ate being wholly unknown to Latin literature, others than Dr. Platt have wondered whence Shakespeare's knowledge came. It has been wondered, also, why Shakespeare (Macbeth, III, 2, 241) speaks of Hecate as "black," and he probably owes this designation to Greene also (lines 1537-1547.)

Bacon. Miles thou knowest that I have dived into hell,
And sought the darkest pallaces of fiends;
That in my Magick spels great Belcephon,
Hath left his lodge and kneeled at my cell;

The rafters of the earth rent from the poles,
 And three-formd Luna hid her silver looks,
 Trembling upon her concave contentent;
 When Bacon red upon his Magick booke.
 With seven yeares tossing nigromanticke charmes,
 Poring upon dark Hecats principles,
 I have framd out a monstrous head of brasse, etc.

Curiously enough, there is, in *L. L. L.*; IV, 3, 340 (and in *Pericles*; I, 1, 27), an allusion to the garden of Hesperides where in place of the Hesperides being considered the custodians of the garden, they are regarded as the name of the garden. And this Shakespeare, in all probability, also drew from Greene's play, lines 1166-1169:

Shew thee the tree leav'd with refined gold,
 Whereon the fearfull dragon held his seate,
 That watcht the garden cal'd Hesperides
 Subdued and wonne by conquering Hercules.

And while the myth makes Hercules send Atlas to gather the fruit for him, Shakespeare, *again in L. L. L.*, (and in *Cor.* III, 6, 99) makes Hercules gather the fruit himself, and this he seems, also, to have borrowed from Greene, lines 1182-1186:

Hercules appears in his Lion's skin.

Hercules. Quis me vult?

Vandermast—Joves bastard sonne, thou libian Hercules,
 Pull off the sprigs from the Hesperian tree,
 As once thou didst to win the golden fruit
Hercules. Fiat.

In Greene's *Orlando Furioso* the mention of Ate is found no less than three times:

What messenger hath Ate sent abroad
 With idle looks to listen my laments? 633-634
 Discourteous women, Natures fairest ill,
 The woe of man, that first created curse,

Base female sex, sprung from black Ate's loynes,
 Proud, and disdainful, cruell, and unjust. 671-674
 Ate, Ile kiss thy restless cheeke a while,
 And suffer vile repeat to bide control. 1158-1159.

From the distorted, or pseudo—mythology of Greene in Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay which Shakespeare transferred to Love's Labor's Lost, it seems reasonably safe to infer that Greene's play was the direct source of Shakespeare's knowledge.

CHAS. A. HERPICH.

"ROMEO AND JULIET," I. i. 221-222.—

O, she is rich in beauty, only poor,
 That when she dies with beauty dies her store.

In these lines, and the several preceding, "she" and "her" seem to refer to Rosaline as a common antecedent. Rosaline has beauty, and also, as a woman, has a propagating power, or store, of beauty. If she were to marry and have beautiful children, at her death, while her beauty would die, her store of beauty would survive, as it would have been transmitted to posterity. As it is, when she dies beauty dies; and "with beauty dies her (Rosaline's) store (of beauty)."

E. M. D.

"ROMEO AND JULIET," I. ii. 30-3.—

Hear all, all see,
 And like her most whose merit most shall be;
 Which, on more view of many, mine (being one)
 May stand in number, though in reckoning none.

Notwithstanding the misleading punctuation which this passage so often receives, the sense should enable us to read as indicated. Paris is asked to make an intelligent choice. "Which" connects this request with what follows, virtually amounting to *in the event of which*. Then, if we understand lines 32 and 33 to mean that, "on more view of many, Juliet may be found to possess the average amount of merit, but no distinguishing degree of merit," the thought, although cast in the form of the proverbial expression, "one is no number," will offer no difficulty.

E. M. D.

"ROMEO AND JULIET," I. i. 88-9.—

Rebellious subjects, enemies to peace,
Profaners of this neighbor-stained steel.

Daniel suggested "soil," instead of "steel," but may not "of" be understood to signify *in consequence of, through*, as in "What shall become of this?" (Much Ado IV. i. 211)?

E. M. D.

"ROMEO AND JULIET," I. i. 234-5.—

'Tis the way
To call hers, exquisite, in question more.

I believe we have here a subtle play upon words. "Question," from *quaerere*, to seek; "exquisite," from *ex* (out) and *quaerere*. Thus we have "*ex*quisite" contrasted with "*in* question."

E. M. D.

MARGINALIA

ARE THERE ANY MORTAL REMAINS OF SHAKESPEARE IN EXISTENCE? THE recent successful identification of the remains of Admiral John Paul Jones will give encouragement to those Shakespearian scholars who urge that, in the interest of literature, the grave of Shakespeare, at Stratford-on-Avon, should be reverently opened and whatever of Shakespeare is left therein embalmed to resist the further encroachments of time. These scholars have always pointed out that there is no reason why not, but every reason why Shakespeare's mortal parts should be reverently visited and enshrined, just as Schiller's bones were visited and snatched from decay in 1805 with Goethe's approval, or Raphael's skull in 1833, with the authority of Pope Gregory XVI, or Milton's still earlier. And of the English Kings we are aware that, notably in the case of Henry VIII and of Charles I, the interests of iconography, if not of history, were held sufficient to justify exhumation. It really appears that the witches' curse on "he who moves my bones" is what has been stronger than the claims of either history or iconography! But as it has always been considered a good deed to outwit a witches' curse, perhaps Shakespeare's vault (or grave) might be opened by a committee from one of our numerous ladies' Shakespeare societies? There will then be no HE to be felled and destroyed by that curse, but, as in the case of the bishop's curse in "The Jackdaw of Rheims," "nobody will be a penny the worse."

If Shakespeare's coffin was placed in the earth itself, three hundred years will hardly have left anything which to-day could be identified. Dr. Halliwell-Phillipps, who is always the last authority on Shakespeare matters, says that Shakespeare's grave was dug in the earth. But he adds, that on digging another grave nearby, a small opening into Shakespeare's grave was made through which "no relics whatever were visible." If the grave were dug in the ground and not walled into a vault (Outlines, ninth edition, Vol. I, page 269), how could an opening "have appeared?" Possibly it is meant that a part of Shakespeare's coffin was visible. But why should not Dr. Halliwell-Phillipps, with his proverbially accurate use of

language, have said so? He even notes so small a particular as that in July, 1619, the Town Council of Stratford passed a resolution to "bestow some charge towards the keeping dry the chauncell at the High Church." But he does not tell us whether Shakespeare's grave was bricked in. The nearest to it is the following (*Ibid*): "The nearest approach to an excavation into the grave of Shakespeare was in the summer of 1769, when, in digging a vault in the immediate locality, an opening appeared which was presumed to indicate the commencement of the site of the bard's remains. The most scrupulous care was however taken not to disturb the neighbouring earth in the slightest degree, the clerk having been placed there until the brickwork of the adjoining vault was completed, to prevent any one making an examination." But this obviously only stimulates further speculation. If the brickwork of an adjoining vault was necessary, then there was some separation of a permanent character between Shakespeare's sepulchre and the adjoining ones.

And yet there has always been a rumor, report or, at least, a belief, that Shakespeare's remains were in a vault or crypt of some sort under the successive stones (not always duplicating the exact form of the letters of the curse, etc.), which were from time to time placed in the chancel of Trinity Church. Washington Irving, writing in 1815-1820, says (*The Sketch Book, Stratford-on-Avon*): "A few years since also, as some laborers were digging to make an adjoining vault, the earth caved in so as to leave a vacant space almost like an arch, through which one might have reached into his [Shakespeare's] grave. No one, however, presumed to meddle with the remains so awfully guarded by a malediction; and lest any of the idle or the curious, or any collector of relics, should be tempted to commit depredations, the old sexton kept watch over the place for two days, until the vault was finished and the aperture closed again. He told me he had made bold to look in at the hole, but could see neither coffin nor bones; nothing but dust. It was something, I thought, to have seen the dust of Shakespeare." Now this may refer to the same occasion as is mentioned by Dr. Halliwell-Phillipps above—though as Shakespeare's wife is buried next to him it is hardly to be supposed that "some laborers" were "recently" digging to make an adjoining vault to Shakespeare's grave, since the burial of Thomas Nashe, Shakespeare's grandson-in-law. Thomas Nashe, the husband of Elizabeth Hall, who died April 4th, 1647, lies immediately to south, while Mrs. Shakespeare's tomb is immediately to the north.

It seems, like every other detail concerning Shakespeare, to be elusive, at least by reason of centuries of loose writing. Still some statement ought

to be attainable from somebody, or the child or successor of somebody who can trace back to an occasion when one worn-out stone in the chancel pavement was replaced by another. An effort after certitude was recently made, which elicited the following letter from the Rev. George Arbuthnot, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon since 1879. This letter, evidently intended to convey information of some sort, but really conveying none, is as follows: The Vicarage Stratford-on-Avon, November third, 1905. In reply to your letter of enquiry I write to say that as far as I know Shakespeare lies buried in the chancel of this Church beneath the Sanctuary pavement. His grave has never been opened. Therefore I cannot say whether it is in the form of a vault or not. But it is not in a crypt because there is no crypt. The only evidence as to the spot is unbroken tradition, for his name is not carved upon the stone. This tradition is however confirmed by the fact that on one side is his wife and close by on the other, his daughter and son-in-law. We have in the Registry an entry of his burial. Yours, faithfully, G. Arbuthnot. Can it be possible that, when the good Vicar says that Shakespeare's body cannot be buried "in a Crypt because there is no Crypt," he refrains—in mental reservation, from stating that the Crypt is not there because it was removed, and its contents therefore destroyed—during his own incumbency as Vicar? The following letter from the late Dr. Halliwell-Phillipps, printed in the (London) *Times* of January 24th, 1889, seems to infer that during the so called "Restoration" of Trinity Church in the year 1889, the Crypt was deliberately demolished. Hollinbury Copse, Brighton, January 24th, 1889. To the Editor of *The Times*. Sir.—The respected Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon is surely a little unreasonable in complaining of the English public, as he does in *The Times* of yesterday, for not sending their thousands in aid of the so-called 'restoration' of his most deeply interesting Church, a project which is assumed, on more than doubtful grounds, to be certain to contribute to the honor of England's illustrious son. So far from the public being censurable for their hesitation in this matter, they will be much to blame if they support, without examination, a scheme which involves one of the few acts of Shakespearean Vandalism that remain to be perpetrated in the poet's native town—a scheme, moreover, that will most probably lead to other disasters. Those who have studied the history of the edifice may be excused for thinking it possible that the irremediable mischief which accrued through local management on previous occasions may now be repeated under similar conditions. It is not likely that the full extent of that mischief will ever be ascertained. No details are extant of the extensive alterations made in the chancel in the closing years of the last century,

and, strangely enough, no particulars are recorded of the deplorable metamorphosis of the interior of the entire building that was effected so recently as 1835. I sadly fear, from what I am told by the surviving relatives of the architect who was engaged on the latter occasion, that none of his drawings or notes have been preserved; and I have exhausted without success every possible means of discovering copies of either the specifications or the builders' accounts. We know, however, that in 1835 the interesting remains of Thomas a' Becket's Chapel were ruthlessly discarded. A number of those remains coming into my possession about the year 1860, I gave them in behalf of the Church to the then Vicar, and they are, I believe, still to be seen in the churchyard. Whether it would be desirable or even practicable to restore them to their ancient position I am not competent to say, but the subject is at all events one that deserves investigation. We know also that at one or other of these so-called restorations the stone that had originally covered the poet's grave was replaced by another purchased from the yard of a modern stonemason. This fact has been weakly disputed on the strength of a supposititious tradition; but whoever will take the trouble to compare the present tombstone with that on the grave of the poet's wife, and with others that have clearly not been tampered with, will be satisfied that it cannot be that which was modelled in the reign of James I. There is neither hope nor guarantee that the Church will fare at all better under its present rulers. The Restoration Committee commenced with the obviously judicious removal of the modern galleries, but after that operation the Rubicon of safety was passed. It is clear from their subsequent proceedings that they have not taken the slightest pains to make themselves acquainted with the history of the edifice they are altering. It is almost incredible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that they entered on an extensive series of repairs without even incurring the very small labor required for the preparation of a protective schedule of the monuments affected by those repairs. Then, again, owning myself by far the largest and most important collection of drawings of the Church anywhere to be found, including some of the earliest known to exist, I thought it my duty to offer the Committee the use of them; but a polite acknowledgment was all that emanated from the offer, and it was, of course, outside my province to move further in the matter. All this exhibits an apathy that is altogether inconsistent with an anxious desire on the part of the Committee for the execution of a legitimate restoration. It is, then, no wonder that the scheme of the Committee includes the proposal for a serious piece of Vandalism, no less a one than the removal of the ancient charnel-house crypt to make way for a modern addition to the

northern exterior of the Church—an excrescence that, however, skilfully contrived, could not possibly harmonize with the mediaeval work. This crypt, partially underground, and its basement reached by a flight of steps, was entered from the chancel through a doorway which, although now blocked up, is, with its curious hoodmould terminations, one of the most interesting relics of the older Church. Unvarying tradition tells us that it was the contemplation of the contents of this crypt, used throughout the Shakespearean period for a charnel-house, that elicited the poet's request for the public expression of his wish that his grave might never be disturbed. It is situated but a few feet from that grave, and the tradition is well supported by the recently ascertained fact that the poet knew that, as a tithe owner, he would necessarily be buried in the chancel. *The charnel-house is now concealed, and opinions differ as to the extent of the remains of the crypt, but they are certainly considerable, and it will be a pity if the public does not insist upon a definite withdrawal of the scheme for their destruction before they contribute another shilling to the "Restoration" fund.* [These italics are ours.] When the present restoration scheme was first promulgated it was announced that no alterations were to be made without the sanction of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Surely no such Society could authorize the demolition of the mediaeval crypt, but of late the restoration prospectuses contain no indication of any sort of deference to outside criticism. The hat is sent round to the world in the name of Shakespeare, but the claims of Shakespearean association are practically ignored, and the poor world is to have no voice in the expenditure. The plain fact is that any one who dares to call in question the infallibility of the local judgment is considered at Stratford "most tolerable and not to be endured," and if any of your readers have a fancy to witness a revival of the pillory I will give them due notice of my next visit to Warwickshire. But, presuming that Mr. Henry Irving is correct in a recent assertion—and no one can have better opportunities of judging—that there is a daily increasing interest in the details of Shakespearean biography, then the Stratfordians for their own sakes will, if they are wise, support those who would jealously guard the absolute integrity of every vestige of Shakespeare's town—that is to say, of the town as it existed from 1564 to 1616—instead of encouraging designs that promote its obliteration. Your obedient Servant, J. O. Halliwell-Philippes." In our last issue we narrated the exploits of the Rev. Francis Gastrell in obliterating Shakespeare. From his day, until the destruction of a considerable portion of Henley Street—(as reported, ante, Vol. III, page 6) the destruction was conducted under the name of "Restorations."

Two altars—dedicated to the Holy Trinity and to St. Peter and St. Paul—which stood under the organ loft were ruthlessly removed, as was also the tall, two-storied pulpit which fronted the organ loft, and nobody knows what became of them. In 1840, the ancient galleries of the church were torn out, the organ was removed to the west end of the church, the ancient high pews were replaced with seats with carved finials, so arranged that the centre of the nave was filled up, and new galleries were erected in the aisles. The ancient font was carried over to the Guild Chapel and a new one erected, and a new pulpit placed against the southwest pier of the tower. In 1885, the galleries of 1840 were removed from the aisles, and the seats, put in in that year, rearranged to form a central passageway, and the choir-seats under the tower were placed further west. In 1889 came a tremendous “restoration,” so drastic as to rouse the entire world to protest and to ridicule. Mr. William Winter being conspicuous in his letters to the *New York Tribune*—in the course of which he charged that Vicar Arbuthnot was making the inside of Shakespeare’s Church look like a beer-garden! (Doubtless an over-statement, but adequately voicing the indignation which this “restoration” awakened everywhere. The organ was taken out; a part of it was put in the Chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury at the east end of the south aisle, and the remainder placed on a loft built under the tower for the purpose, the walls were treated with “decorations”—new windows put in—and then, or since, a highly ornate memorial pulpit was placed in the church by Sir Theodore Martin in memory of Lady Martin, and another memorial to her, an angel in marble, admitted into the chancel immediately facing Shakespeare’s grave. Since 1896 there have been still further reconstructions. The pews of 1840 were again replaced, and, in short, Shakespeare’s Church is, to use Vicar Arbuthnot’s expression, not a memorial to Shakespeare, but a place for Divine Worship. We cannot quarrel with Vicar Arbuthnot’s standpoint. But, as has been irreverently suggested, all this disappearance of Shakespeare vestiges, might be fairly allowed for in the fees demanded in the vestibule.”

MISS M. A. LEITH WRITES TO OUR CONTEMPORARY *BACONIANA*, THAT “the Mr. Shakespeare mentioned as receiving the six shillings for the Earle of Rutlands “impresio” [ante, p. 51] may have been the Mr. Thomas Shakespeare—a messenger or carrier attached to the Court—mentioned in Knights “London, (V. 106), whose bill for “chuzez and pains” in delivering Letters from the Queen to the Bishops in 1577 is still extant. “Could the “Impresso” have been some large device or ‘property’ which came down by special messenger from the theatrical carpenter in London to be repaired and set up in

the grounds of Belvoir Castle," asks Miss Leith. And to guess at a similar identification, Mr. Basil Brown writes us. Referring to Mr. Reily's paper, "Did Shakespeare's widow marry Richard James?" in your April issue, may I suggest that Anna Wheteley may have been the daughter of the bailiff of Stratford, one George Wheteley, who was a member of the town council with Shakespeare's father. Out of the nineteen members composing this Council, Wheteley was one of the twelve who could not write his own name. Charles Knight facetiously described his mark as "like a trivet with one leg hidden;" and informs us that he made it "with a dignity as great as that of mailed king sealing with his thumb his sign manual." Wheteley was a woollen draper. Anna may have been his daughter—I do not think she was related in any way to Anne Hathaway; but if they were both charmers of the irresistible William Shakespeare no doubt Anne Hathaway had a prior claim to his affections, hence their marriage."

IF FRANCIS BACON WROTE THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS IT PASSES MAN'S understanding why he should have selected two Warwickshire names from the list of Recusants who would not attend Protestant worship in Stratford, "for fear of processe for debte" (if that statement deceives anybody, or if anybody believes that these recusants spent their week-days in some other Shire!) In Appleton Morgan's "Study in the Warwickshire Dialect" there are given dozens of other Warwickshire names, occurring in the plays, (besides Warwickshire dialect words, and those Warwickshire orthoepies which permit incessant puns upon the slightest provocations). These latter can be, doubtless, explained away. But when Mr. Bacon takes "Fluellen" and "Bardolph" bodily out of a list so pertinent to John Shakespeare, the explaining away is noways so simple. Here is the entry, verbatim:

"The names of all sutch recusantes as have bene heretofore presented for not comm nge monthelie to the church according to hir Maiesties lawes and yet are thoughte to forbear the church for debte and for feare of processe or for some other worse faultes or for age sickness or impotencye of bodie

Mr. John Wheeler

John Wheeler his son

Mr John Shackspeare

Mr John Nicholas Barneshurste

Thomas James alias Giles

William Bainton

Richard Harrington

William Fluellen

George Bardolfe

It is sayde that these last nine coom
not to church for feare of processe for
debte

Mrs Geffreys wid
 Mrs Barber
 Julian Coorte
 Griffen ap Roberts
 Joane Welche
 Mrs Wheeler

Weare all here presented for rescu-
 santes and do all so continewe saving
 Mrs Wheeler who is conformed and
 Griffin ap Roberts now deade But the
 presenters say that all or most of these
 cannot come to church for age or
 other infirmities"

This entry is not dated, but was made prior to September, 1592.

MR. GEORGE B. CHURCHILL IS A RECENT GRADUATE OF AMHERST COLLEGE, Massachusetts, and a present professor of English at that well-gowned Seat of Learning. Mr. Churchill, as we gather from the current issue of the "Jahrbuch," lately undertook to inform the German Shakespeare Society as to "Shakespeare in America" (videlicet, the United States). To begin with, he assured that distinguished body that "the broad scope of The German Shakespeare Society and the high rank and completeness of its Jahrbuch have rendered impossible the establishment of a strong, working Shakespeare Society in America, or the publication of a valuable Shakespeare [sic] Magazine." (And though unaware of our "American" idiom as to the use of the Trowel in Criticism, our German friends looked at each other silent as on a peak in Darien, and wondered if they really were such dangerously clever people, and if "the wide scope" of their gentle Jahrbuch could really have so cried on Havoc in far-off America! But this was only an initial plunge! The professor denied himself thereafter no luxury of sweeping statement (though possibly his careless use of "Shakespearean"—the adjective meaning Napoleonic, magnificent, etc., and the name "Shakespeare" adjectively employed to identify something exclusively relating to Shakespeare, may have misled his auditors to think rather less parochially of "America" than Prof. Churchill wished them to think of that continent.) Here follow few of the learned Professor's specifications. That Shakespeare in America is still handicapped by the Puritan Origin of America itself. That, except Booth, whose acting was "uneven," and Forest, "whom some people preferred to Booth," and Charlotte Cushman, "whose greatest part was Meg Merriles"—American stage-conditions as to Shakespeare (save when ameliorated by occasional visits to these shores of eminent German tragedians) have been deplorable. That America's greatest Shakespearean scholars are "Charlotte Porter, Helen A. Clarke, Schelling, Manly, Tolman, Hen-neman, Kent and Parrott." (May we not yet add to these immortal names not born to die the proud name of George B. Churchill?)—"though this list, through the ever-increasing efforts of our Universities, and of Prof. Kit-

tridge of Harvard, is rapidly augmenting!" That Mr. Mark H. Liddell, had it not been for the malfeasance of his cruel publishers, would have been the Greatest (as well as the most expensive) Shakespearean [sic] Editor on Earth, etc., etc., etc.! And then Prof. Churchill achieves a flight of what may be called Destructive Prophecy in this wise: "It will require a Revolution in the American spirit before [sic] we can expect efficient aid to our theatres from State or City." (Alas, too true! too true! And the learned Professor—without imperilling his reputation for familiarity with American Institutions—might have added, that it would also require a rather considerable "Revolution" in American Constitutions and in American Constitutional jurisprudence, before municipal aid could be voted to "our Theatres" from the public purse at all!)

We cannot help thinking that, if Prof. Churchill's ecstasy over the "broad scope" of the Jahrbuch had tempted him to consult its marvellously accurate annual Bibliographies, his accounts of the American output of works upon Shakespeare things (unless, indeed, Prof. Churchill is proceeding upon the Furnivellian plan of only mentioning books written by his particular friends) might have been more copious, not to say more useful. He might have, possibly, included Bartlett's colossal Concordance to The Shakespeare Plays and Poems, quite as well as a tiny brochure printed de luxe about thirty years ago, for distribution among its author's personal acquaintance—which bears as much relation to Authority as a woeful sonnet made by a lover to his mistress' eyebrow bears to Dr. Murray's Dictionary! But these are small matters, which, while they may make the unskilful laugh, are hardly important enough to make the judicious grieve. Professor Churchill's Masterpiece winds up with the "confession" that he has "never been able to find anything in NEW SHAKESPEAREANA that deserves mention," and, that it "is vitiated by Baconian Heresies." "We wish Prof. Churchill more years, and a wisdom and knowledge that shall increase with those years! And above all, we wish him a fuller acquaintance with NEW SHAKESPEAREANA." Is there no Public Library in Amherst, Massachusetts?

"ALFRED, MY YOUNGEST (FIVE) SAID MRS. PARDIGGLE, "HAS VOLUNTARILY enrolled himself in the Infant Bonds of Joy, and is pledged never through life to use tobacco in any form." One thousand professors in United States colleges have signed a pledge to spell their mother-tongue otherwise than it is spelled by the balance of mankind and in the literature of their race! Were college professors created without the sense of humor? We wonder what results would follow if these gentlemen signed a pledge to hereafter use only clamshells in paying their bills—their butcher, their

baker and their candlestick maker? However, these gentlemen need not keep their pledges. A promise without consideration is nudum pactum, and void in law.

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF NEW YORK ANNOUNCES WITH REGRET the death of Hon. Walter Seth Logan, for thirteen years a distinguished member of the Society. Mr. Logan was an eminent and successful lawyer, an eloquent orator and a warm friend. He died in harness—as one would wish to die, painlessly and in an instant—falling while engaged in professional work, from failure of the heart. It is given to few to leave behind them such a memory of fraternal deeds and kindly words. We may not look upon his like again!

BOOKS RECEIVED

192. *The Shakespeare Symphony. An Introduction to the Ethics of The Elizabethan Drama.* By Harold Bayley. Cloth, 8vo., pp. 393. London: Chapman and Hall.

224. *A Shakespeare Phonology. With a Rime-Index to the Poems as a Pronouncing Vocabulary.* By Wilhelm Victor, M. A., Ph.D., Professor of English Philology in the University of Marburg, etc. Cloth, 12mo., pp. 290. New York: Lemcke and Buechner.

225. *Some Questions of Legal Ethics suggested by the Life and Career of Lord Chancellor Bacon, Viscount St. Albans.* By Richard L. Ashhurst. Paper, 8vo., pp. 29. Bedford Springs Publishing Co.

226. *William Shakespeare. Leben und Werke von Eduard Engel Dritte (umbgearbeitete). Auflage.* Cloth, sq., 12mo., pp. 73. Leipsig: Verlag von J. Baedeker.

227. *The Tragedie of Chabot, Admirall of France.* By George Chapman and James Shirlev. Reprinted from the Quarto of 1639. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by Ezra Lehman. Sometime Harrison Fellow in English of the University of Pennsylvania. Paper. Royal 8vo., pp. 124. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania.

228. *A Handbook to the Works of William Shakespeare.* By Morton Luce, Author of a Handbook to the Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson. Cloth, 16mo., pp. 463. London: George Bell and Co.

229. *The Bride.* By Samuel Rowlands. Reprinted for the first time from a copy of the Original edition of 1617 in the Library of Harvard College. With an introductory note by Alfred Claghorn Potter. Roxbury, 5 1-2 by 6 1-2. Boston: Printed for C. E. Godspeed at the Merrymount Press.

230. *Scenes from old Playbooks, Arranged as an Introduction to Shakespeare.* By Percy Simpson, Assistant Master at St. Olave's Grammar School. 12mo., cloth, pp. 248. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. Henry Frowde, New York.

231. *John Webster. The Period of his work as determined by his*

Relations to the Drama of his play. By Elmer Edgar Stoll, A. M., Ph.D. 8vo., paper, pp. 215. Cambridge, Mass.: The Harvard Co-operative Society.

232. Shakespeare, Marston and The Malcontent Type. By Elmer Edgar Stoll, A. M., Ph.D. 8vo., paper, pp. 20. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

208. Coincidences of Bacon and Shakespeare. By Edwin Reed. 8vo. Boston: Coburn Publishing Company.

233. Edgar Allan Poe. The Man, The Master, The Martyr. By Oliver Leigh [Geoffrey Quarles]. Chicago: The Frank M. Morris Company.

205. The Idyllic Avon. A description of the Midland River from Tewksbury to above Stratford-on-Avon. By John Henry Garrett. 8vo., Illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

206. The Ghost in Hamlet, and other essays in comparative literature. By Dr. Maurice F. Egan, Professor of English Literature in the Catholic University of America. 16mo. Cloth, pp. 325. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

234. Frederick Schiller. A Sketch of His Life and an Appreciation of His Poetry. By Dr. Paul Carus. Boards, 8vo., pp. 102. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company.

210. Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth. Edited by Edward Everett Hale, Jr. 12mo. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 25 cents net.

235. Did Shakespeare Write Titus Andronicus? A Study in Elizabethan Literature. By John M. Roberston. Cloth, 8vo., pp. 255. London: Watts and Company.

200. Bacon's Nova Resusciato, or the Unveiling of His Concealed Works and Travels. By the Rev. Walter Begley, Discoverer and Editor of Milton's Nova Solyma. Author of "Is it Shakespeare," "Biblia Cabalistica," "Biblia Anagrammatica," etc. 3v., cloth, pp. 234-310-226. 12mo. London: Gay and Bird.

236. The First Folio Shakespeare. Twelfth Night, or What You Will. Edited, with Notes, Introduction, Glossary. List of Variorum Readings and selected criticism. By Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. 4½ by 6½. Cloth, pp. 210. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

237. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft im auftrage des Vorstandes Herausgeben von Alois Brandl und Wolfgang Keller. Zwerundvierzigster Jahrgang mit drei Bilden. 9 cloth, 8vo., pp. 485. Berling Schonberg Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung Prof. G. Langenscheidt.

238. Sir Henry Irving. By Haldane MacFall. Cloth, pp. 127, 12mo. Boston: John W. Luce & Co.

239. Francis Bacon's Cryptic Rhymes and the Truth they Reveal. By Edwin Borman. Cloth, 8vo., pp. 251. London: Siegel Hill & Co.

205. Of all the volumes devoted to Shakespeare's river, its memories and its present charm, this is certainly the most eloquent and the most unique. Instead of devoting his work to Shakespearean precincts alone, Mr. Garrett—with a whole summer's leisure, if necessary—began his pilgrimage at Tewksbury, and rowed up to Stratford-on-Avon, fifty miles above, stopping at every town and village, or wayside inn or cottage, if the fancy moved him, or his selected company. He carried a camera, too, and to good advantage, for here are fifty reproductions of excellent workmanship of village streets, churches, town halls, landscapes and waterscapes, groups of men and women and pretty children, etc. And Mr. Garrett is no mean poet either; and the songs he writes on all but every occasion are sweet and musical, and by no means detain us unwillingly from the panorama he presents with pen and kodak. As his barge nears Shakespeare's neighborhood, Bedford and Haunted Hillsborough are visited. Mr. Garrett can find no spectres in the latter, but he photographs the most picturesque old mansion he can discover there, and arranges the lights and shades about its old walls—with a dusky moon above it—so that it would be a sorry imagination that could not find a White Lady scaling a gable somewhere about. Surely this is a volume to take with us for a holiday. This narrative is continuous and graphic, and every town and village supplies its legend to be interwoven. Here is a bit to show Mr. Garrett's "facetious grace in writing." "The Avon is not the same at every hour of the day, but varies from the freshness of the morning through the heats of the noon and afternoon to the coolness of the evening. But night is the most impressive time to be upon the river, for then Nature is left in undisturbed possession of the world, and then is the best time to commune with her, and question her upon the great secrets she holds." Mr. Garrett indeed questions her upon a great many of them—as he often remains upon the water from sunset to sunrise. And he faithfully chronicles, sometimes in picture, sometimes in verse, and always charmingly, every answer to his questions that he elicits. Even of Stratford-on-Avon—bewritten as it is—he has something new to say, and the quaint entries in the town records he has been attracted by, are not those usually noted—as for example—that a dozen gallons of beer—thirteen to a dozen—should sell for two shillings. We have seldom met a more readable Itinerary.

206. Since Mr. Albert R. Frey's "Shakespeare and Spanish Prototypes" was issued by The New York Shakespeare Society (of which Mr. Frey has since become the First Vice-President) there has been no such illuminative paper on Calderon as Mr. Maurice Francis Egan presents in this work. And another piece of capital criticism is devoted to Tennyson's Tragedy of "A Becket," which Mr. Egan makes (or rather, we should say—in which he discovers) a text for a fine and fervid defense of the Roman Catholic Church as to its position towards, and treatment of, Literature and literary things. But when we look for the same originality in Mr. Egan's Shakespeare criticism we are sadly disappointed, and, in the title essay "The Ghost in Hamlet," most of all. There is nothing here which is not at second hand and even less than second hand. And yet it is to the work as a piece of interpretative Shakespeareana, that Mr. Egan looks for his profit in it. Besides what is most familiar matter, Mr. Egan's constant protest against forcing one man's interpretation of Shakespeare down somebody else's throat—when that is the very thing he is doing himself—is a trifle tedious. But this is not saying that the book is as good as a thousand other books just like it—devoted to the same themes, possibly a choice over many another of them.

208. Whatever ones metier Baconwards, he cannot refuse to confess that Mr. Edwin Reed is indefatigable. This is the fifth volume of formidable dimensions he has prepared in six years, and each is substantially new, or rather, additional matter. We have heretofore credited Mr. Reed with unearthing two internal coincidences in the Plays and the philosophical works of Bacon—to wit the change in Hamlet and Othello, conformatively to Bacon's change of belief as to Sense accompanying Motion, and as to the Mediterranean currents. We mark for notation in this volume "Coincidences: Bacon and Shakespeare," these additional: (1) The "Parley" between Jeanne d'arc and Burgundy, (I. Henry Sixth III. iii.) never took place: but is paraphrase of a letter dated July 17, 1429, addressed to the then Duke by Joan. To this letter Bacon could have had access, but Shakespeare could not. (2) Dr. Caius, in the Merry Wives, is a very faithful portrait in burlesque of Dr. John Caius, founder of Caius College, Cambridge, and a professor there in April, 1573, when Bacon was a student there. (3) Magna Charter, the most prominent item in King John's reign is not alluded to either in the play or in Bacon's Political (or other) writings. Bacon disapproved of any invasion of Prerogative. (4) (Mr. Reed's XLIV.) This is too recondite for interpretation except at the length to which Mr. Reed examines it. The point is, that Edmund's Fa. sol. la. mi (Lear I. ii) is an

allusion to that "Devil in Music," the tritonus or sharp fourth, which implied a series of sounds exceedingly disagreeable to the ear. (Perhaps a very young lady in the next parlor at your hotel practising her scales!) Lord Bacon investigated the laws of Harmony. Shakespeare did not. (5) As to Nature and Art, not different but the same—Bacon and Shakespeare it seems, made the same recondite study of the relations between Nature and Art, made it at the same time; used the same analogies, and arrived at the same conclusions. (6) Measure for Measure is, in trend, a plea for wiping off the statute books of all obsolete laws. Bacon was constantly pressing this policy, and necessity, upon the Crown. (7) Both Bacon and Shakespeare (in the First Folio) paraphrase portions of Sandy's Travels—published in 1615—a date of course out of the question as to Shakespeare who died in 1616. This Mr. Reed demonstrates on pages 126-128, by copious quotations. These new coincidences Mr. Reed ranges with the other best known ones, and the result is a volume, which the anti-Baconians should carefully avoid reading.

210. Mr. Edward Everett Hale is permitted to contribute to the popular "Riverside Literature Series" a revision of Richard Grant White's text of the Henry the Fifth, and to add to Mr. White's Notes references to whatever has accrued since Mr. White's day. Mr. White's work has not yet become obsolete, nor antiquated enough to need overhauling. But if it was to be overhauled we should have ourselves endeavored to find an editor attuned as nearly as Mr. White's own methods as possible! We wonder what Mr. White's Shade will mutter? Mr. White, of all men the one who had the loftiest contempt for sham, and whom nothing but absolute certainty would satisfy, who "presented his public only with the finished Cabinet and never threw at their heads a basket of chips." We wonder we say what he or his Shade will mutter when he learns, from an edition of Shakespeare passing under his umbra—that Mr. H. W. Mabie's is the Best Biography of Shakespeare extant!

192. It is the province of the Casuist to deal with possibilities. That out of a possible number of units a possible number of examples may occur, and so forth. The Lawyer, on the contrary, must (at least affirmatively) deal only with probabilities, though of course, negatively, any argument from possibilities may incline to the "reasonable doubt" which he might be on the search for. But, as Lord Mansfield expressed it in the Douglas case: "As mathematical or absolute certainty is seldom to be attained in human affairs, reason and public utility require that judges and all mankind, in forming their opinion of the truth of facts, should be regulated by the superior

number of probabilities on the one side or the other, whether the amount of these probabilities be expressed in words and arguments or by figures and numbers." When, therefore, the circumstantial evidence is very strong and sufficient and is also supported and confirmed by direct evidence, then, to use the language of a great law-writer, "human reason can not do otherwise than accept the conclusion to which the proof tends." Mr. Harold Bayley, who is the editor of "Baconiana," has certainly written this book with a Lawyer's pen and a Lawyer's caution, arguing against himself as often as he sees a suggestion or a possible flaw in one of his own postulates. We have read this book with diligence and attention; from the beginning to the end. It is a work full without being diffuse; lucid without being garrulous, and we welcome it as a contribution to what Mr. Bayley happily denominates the Ethics of the Elizabethan Drama.

In the outset, we must own that we are not very much impressed by the citation of identities in thought and expression, among the pioneers of the British drama. Surely it is precisely what we should expect to find. There seems to be throughout History an over-mind-paraphrasing Emerson's immortal expression. Men think more or less in grooves. The avowal of a belief in such phenomena does not necessarily imply that human beings are automata, each partaking, as Averroes suggested, of that part of the universal intellect which is meted out to him. In the dominion of literature, as in that of invention, men have reached identical conclusions by independent roads, when inventions in the path of applied science seem to have been in the air! Bell and Grey filed their specifications for the telephone on the same day, almost at the same hour, though entire strangers to one another. Tycho Brahe was working upon a method of abridging computations, at the time when Napier was calculating his logarithms. One lived in Denmark, the other in Scotland. The mind of man works on other minds in mysterious and unknown ways, and for our part we prefer the doctrine of telepathic suggestion to that other hypothesis which would reduce all of us to a dead mechanical level. There are cognate thoughts, and identical expressions in Bacon and in Shakespeare, in Shakespeare and Greene, in Ford and Massinger. What of it? If search could be made, we are of opinion that the same peculiarities would be found in Aristophanes, Eupolis and Cratinus, dramatists who stand at the threshold of history. The fact is our Baconian friends make entirely too much of these parallelisms. Their argument reduced to its ultimate analysis comes to this; that there are such identities, but the question, Who was the Author, who the Plagiarist? remains unanswered. What we want is Evidence that a Court of Justice will admit as

competent. For the reading of this book would convince (us had we ever doubted the fact) that there was such a man as William Shakespeare! No doubter, and, least of all, no gentleman who persists in regarding the Higher Criticism of the Shakespearean Drama (that is, the Criticism of Origins and Evolutions as opposed to the mere criticism of texts and of internal evidences of style trend and tendencies)—can afford to disregard this book. Its author, who leaves us in no manner of doubt as to his own predilections, says of it prefatorially: "I am uncertain what effect this book may have upon it [the Baconian Theory.] While on the one hand it tends to support [it] on the other, especially as regards the arguments derivable from internal evidence, it reduces the argument apparently *ad absurdum*! But especially is Mr. Bayley's book to be commended for chastening, for reproof and for caution, to the gentlemen who claim that the very idea of a Bacon-Shakespeare question is waste of the imagination!

228. Mr. Morton Luce's "Handbook to Shakespeare's Works" deserves more space than we can give it, and should be catalogued among the comparatively few really useful handbooks of Shakespeare which arrive at our reviewing tables. We would not be afraid to even advise that it be placed very near the head of the catalogue. Even a casual survey of the book shows its rare value as a compact compendium of facts and theories scheduling the latest opinion and safely indicating the trend of criticism; and while, as its compiler not only admits but constantly points out; it deals with considerable economy with such bulky grand-divisions as "Bibliography," "Characterization," "Technique," "Traditional and Literary Biography," yet few could have more successfully achieved an honest proportion between the myriad demand of this immense field.

230. The conception of this book is certainly unique—the utility of it may be doubted. Mr. Simpson, who compiles it, describes it as "an attempt to solve in practical form some of the difficulties involved in a first reading of Shakespeare." He does not proceed to tell us what those "difficulties" are. But judging by the book itself they appear to be in Mr. Simpson's experience that pupils read Shakespeare blindly because they do not comprehend the action which accompanies the dialogue. The obvious method of meeting such a difficulty would be for an instructor to take his pupils to see a Shakespeare play acted. But Mr. Simpson prefers his own plan, which is to reprint random passages from the plays, in which [we quote his preface again] to lighten the difficulty presented by the language: phrases, lines and sentences have been lopped freely wherever this could be done without positive ruin to the text," etc., . . . the only notes are stage notes and these

have been lavishly supplied, their helpfulness in a school Edition seems as yet to be imperfectly recognized." Even granting the "difficulties" which Mr. Simpson thinks he has experienced, we most seriously question whether it can be remedied by fixing up Shakespeare's text. "Holding one's farthing candle to the sun." Nor do we believe much in Mr. Simpson's familiarity with the field. We should doubt it certainly (if for no other reason than that the frontispiece to the book is the well-known, in fact, the now hackneyed—De Witt sketch of the interior of the Swan Theatre, and for the "permission" to use this Mr. Simpson says he is "under the deepest obligation" to Mr. Sidney Lee. That picture was discovered by Dr. Goedertz in 1887, and printed by him in a small pamphlet essay upon Puck in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, for which Dr. Goedertz fancied that he had found some German origin (reproduced in some antique ornamented German frontispieces.) The pamphlet attracted no attention. But in that year the New York Shakespeare Society having taken pains to verify the picture, reproduced it in Volume VII of *The Bankside Shakespeare* from which, as we have said, it has been copied thousands and tens of thousands of times. We of course congratulate Mr. Lee on having been able to impress his countrymen with the belief that all Shakespeare things originated with him—Lee. But it does not awaken an enormous confidence in Mr. Simpson's Shakespearean equipment that he should express that belief so confidently. The picture was never copyrighted anywhere and is *publici juris*, like an umbrella, and Mr. Simpson, or anybody else was welcome to it.

237. A young professor (named Churchill) in Amherst College, Massachusetts, U. S. A., recently declared that "the high rank and completeness of the *Jahrbuch* had rendered it impossible to found a Shakespeare magazine, or even a Shakespeare Society, in America, or anywhere else on earth!" The *Jahrbuch* is a fine performance and it would be difficult ordinarily to speak too highly of it, but its editors themselves would probably protest against a risk of measuring it by such an enormously tall standard as all that! Fine as it always has been, it has printed its full share of fantastic, attenuated and transcendental Criticism. For example, in this very issue is printed an absurd paper,⁷ "Was Shakespeare ever in Ireland—a conjectural study," which while it might not be out of place in our American "Poet Lore," is certainly indebted to some nodding Editor somewhere for admission here. This issue, as usual, yields a quantum of space to the Baconian Theory, with which Germany is said to be honeycombed. But a Reprint of "The Book of Merry Riddles," which Slender in the *Merry Wives* (li. 209) is supposed to have referred to, atones for all, and would atone for a much less

valuable output. Dr. Schroeder's Bibliography is always incomparable, and a portrait of his predecessor, Albert Cohn, to whom Shakespeare Bibliography owes so much, complete an issue fully up, all things considered, to the average of this noble Annual. There could not well be higher testimony to the greatness of Shakespeare than the fact that a foreign nation presents this yearly tribute to his deathless praise!

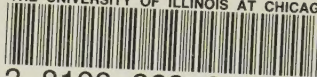
234. Dr. Paul Carus has prefixed two thoughtful essays, "Schiller as a Philosopher," and "Schiller as a Poet," to an admirable biographical memorial of the recent Schiller Centenary. The work is illustrated with many pictures of Schiller at various ages, of his family and friends, and of localities connected with his fame.

***The Editors cannot undertake to return unused manuscript, though they will endeavor to do so if self-directed, stamped envelope is enclosed therewith.

All manuscripts submitted *must be type-written*.

Address all matters intended for The Editors, Books for Review, etc., NEW SHAKESPEAREANA, P. O. Box, 617, WESTFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO



3 8198 323 615 56

